

Upward Binding and Polysynthesis

In several polysynthetic languages that belong to different families, a phenomenon of what looks like free upward DP ellipsis, i.e. with the antecedent in the subordinate clause with the gap in the matrix clause, has been recorded. In the polysynthetic **Adyghe** language (West Caucasian, the Circassian branch), with all kinds of subordinate clauses, adjuncts and complements alike, both upward and downward DP ellipsis is available, cf. (1–3). Informants often produce left- & upward ellipsis of a DP spontaneously, especially when the matrix clause conveys new and unexpected information (4). Similar facts have been found in Kadiweu, Waikuru family, Brazil (Sandalo 1997), Navajo, Na-Dene family, North America (Hale 1973), Passamaquoddy, Algonquian (Brüning 2005), and Nootka (Nuuchahnulth), Wakashan (Davis, Wojdak 2004), all polysynthetic, cf. (5–7).

A problem with Principle C of the Binding theory arises which rules out any pronoun (including *pros* which might be postulated instead of the elliptic gaps, or corresponding pronominal arguments within polysynthetic verbs) to syntactically bind referential expressions. In Adyghe, within a single clause, Principle C is valid (8).

There is firm evidence that the subordinate clauses are really embedded in Adyghe, which can be seen from the usual restrictions on constituent permutations, from Negative Concord operating downward, but not upward etc. Free overt pronouns, unlike *pro*'s or pronominal arguments, show no Principle C violation.

Even more striking is the ability of pronominal arguments to undergo upward semantic binding, quite contrary to the well-known generalization that semantic binding (e.g. bound anaphora) requires syntactic binding (Bach, Partee 1980, Reinhart 1983:122–137; Heim, Kratzer 1998: 264), cf. (9–10) which most informants find ambiguous. Brüning (2005: 105) claims explicitly that in Passamaquoddy semantic binding cannot operate upward; no relevant data are yet available from Navajo, Nootka, Kadiweu, or any other polysynthetic language. In Adyghe, free and personal pronouns cannot be semantically bound from below, and referential expressions cannot be bound at all.

In the paper, possible theoretical hypotheses to account for these facts will be considered. Unrestricted Control or Raising into thematic positions seems unlikely; the account via Ellipsis is problematic in view of the bound anaphora cases (Everyone wants PRO to win ≠ Everyone wants everyone to win). The Movement approach seems the most prospective, in spite of the fact that the island constraints on ellipsis in Adyghe recorded in (Beljaeva, Minor 2005) have not been confirmed.

Complement subordinate clause

- (1) a. [pšaše-m wered qə-?we-n-ew] ___ faj
 girl-ERG song DIR-sing-POT-ADV want
 b. ___ faj [pšaše-m wered qə-?we-n-ew]
 want girl-ERG song DIR-sing-POT-ADV
 (Shē)_{i,j} wants the girl_i to sing a song
 c. pšaše-r faj [___ wered qə-?we-n-ew]
 girl-ABS want song DIR-sing-POT-ADV
 d. [___ wered qə-?we-n-ew] pšaše-r faj
 song DIR-sing-POT-ADV girl-ABS хочет

The girl_i wants to sing a song// wants her_j to sing a song

Adjunct subordinate clause (the temporal ze-___-m converb)

- (2) a. [pšaše-m ə-š qə-ze-λeβ_wə-m], ___ qe-βə-β
 girl-ERG 3SG-brother DIR-REL-see-ERG DIR-cry-PST
 b. ___ qe-βə-β [pšaše-m ə-š qə-ze-λeβ_wə-m]
 DIR-cry-PST girl-ERG 3SG-brother DIR-REL-see-ERG
 (Shē)_{i,j} cried, when the girl_j saw her brother
 c. pšaše-r qe-βə-β [___ ə-š qə-ze-λeβ_wə-m]
 girl-ABS DIR-cry-PST 3SG-brother DIR-REL-see-ERG
 d. [___ ə-š qə-ze-λeβ_wə-m] pšaše-r qe-βə-β
 3SG-brother DIR-REL-see-ERG girl-ABS DIR-cry-PST

The girl_i cried, when she_{i,j} saw her brother.

Head-internal relative clause

- (3) a. _____ qə-κ_wetə-κ [çəf-ew šak_we-m šx_wenč'ə-r
 DIR-find-PST man-ADV hunter-ERG gun-ABS
 ze-r-jə-š'a-κe-r]
 REL-3SG-3SG-sell-PST-ABS
 b. [çəf-ew šak_we-m šx_wenč'ə-r ze-r-jə-š'a-κe-r]
 man-ADV hunter-ERG gun-ABS REL-3SG-3SG-sell-PST-ABS
 _____ qə-κ_wetə-κ
 DIR-find-PST
 He_{i,j} found the man who had sold the gun to the hunter;
- (4) wə-žak'ə wə-ps. _____ me-x'əne-x [p:šaše-me wə-z-a-λek_wə-g'e]
 2-beard 2-shave 3-fear-PL girl-ERG.PL 2-REL-3PL-see-INSTR
 Shave your beard. The girls get frightened when they see you (*Shapsug dialect*).
- (5) Kadiweu, Waikuru family, Brazil (Sandalo 1997)
 _____ y-owo-God [me y-ema:n João Maria]
 3ERG-know-TRNS COMP 3ERG-love John Mary
 John_i knows that he_i loves Mary
 lit. (He_i) knows that John_i loves Mary
- (6) Passamaquoddy, Algonquian (Brüning 2005):
 Litahasu ['-tahcuwi-tkon-ku-l Susehp hehis-ol
 thinks.3 must.arrest-INV-OBV Joseph his.elder.brother-OBV
 not nucihqonket]
 this policeman
lit. He_i thinks that Joseph_i's older brother the policeman must arrest him;
- (7) Nootka (Nuuchahnulth), Wakashan (Davis, Wojdak 2004):
 wawaa'iš [ʔen čatšiλwītas-(ħuk) Christine sapnii ʔaŋiiilik]
 is.saying that knead-(3ABS) Christine bread tomorrow
 Christine is saying that she is gonna knead bread tomorrow, *lit.* (She_i)-is-saying that Christine_i is gonna knead bread tomorrow
- (8) *pro* lene Ø-j-epλə
 Lena 3-3-look
 He is looking at Lena
 *Lena is looking at herself
- (9) _____ faj [a zə-m š'ətχ_wə-n-x-ew]
 _____ want he one-ERG praise-POT-PL-ADV
 1) He wants that they praise only him.
 2) Only he wants them to praise him
- (10) _____ g_wəš'əʔe je-s-tə-ka-κ [ʒ'eg_waλe sabəj pepč
 _____ word 3SG-1SG-give-PST toy kid every
 qə-fe-s-š'efə-n-ew]
 INV-BEN-1SG-buy-POT-ADV
 I promised to him_{i,j} to buy a toy for every kid;

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